

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 02824 01 OF 02 151627Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
ACDA-07 IO-13 TRSE-00 EB-08 /086 W
-----151715Z 050081 /43

R 151609Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5640
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BERN
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02824

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV EAIR SZ GE GW UK US WB UR FR
SUBJECT: INTERFLUG OVERFLIGHTS OF THE FRG

REFS: (A) BONN 2111; (B) BONN 2068; (C) 76 BONN 21158;
(D) 76 STATE 300144; (E) 76 STATE 299836;
(F) 76 BONN 20677; (G) 76 BONN 20973

BEGIN SUMMARY. ALLIED BONN GROUP REPS HAVE DISCUSSED
FRG PROPOSAL TO GRANT OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS TO INTERFLUG
IN RETURN FOR GDR OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS FOR LUFTHANSA
SERVICE TO BERLIN TEGEL. WHILE ALLIED REPS WERE
GENERALLY OF THE VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO
PERSUADE THE FRG TO SEEK ADDITIONAL CONCESSIONS FROM THE
GDR, NO ALLIED RECOMMENDATIONS WERE FORMULATED AS UK
AND FRENCH REPS HAVE ALREADY REQUESTED INSTRUCTIONS FROM
CAPITALS. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON
FRG PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 BONN 02824 01 OF 02 151627Z

1. ON FEBRUARY 14, ALLIED BONN GROUP REPS TOGETHER
WITH CAAS HAD A PRELIMINARY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE
FRG PROPOSAL TO GIVE INTERFLUG FRG OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS
FOR SCHOENEFELD-ZURICH SERVICE IN RETURN FOR GDR
OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS FOR LUFTHANSA FOR BERLIN TEGEL
SERVICE ON FRANKFURT-MOSCOW ROUTE (REF B). NO REPS

HAD AS YET RECEIVED VIEWS FROM CAPITALS, AND ALL
THUS SPOKE ON A PERSONAL BASIS.

2. UK REP (HITCH) NOTED THAT IN HIS VIEW BERLIN AIR
SERVICE HAD ALWAYS BEEN A MIXTURE OF POLITICAL AND
COMMERCIAL CONSIDERATIONS. HE ASSUMED THAT THE ALLIES
IN THE PAST, IN DECIDING TO APPROVE NORTH/SOUTH
ROUTES FOR THIRD COUNTRY AIRLINES TO LAND IN WEST
BERLIN, HAD TAKEN THE VIEW THAT THE POLITICAL REQUIRE-
MENTS OF BERLIN VIABILITY TOOK PRECEDENCE OVER THE
COMMERCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF ALLIED AIRLINES. HE
THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT THAT EARLIER DECISION SHOULD BE
RESEARCHED AND POSSIBLY UPDATED. HE NOTED THAT, IF
LUFTHANSA COMES INTO TEGEL, ALLIED CARRIERS WILL FIND
THEMSELVES UNDER COMMERCIAL PRESSURE.

3. FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU) PREDICTED THAT HIS INSTRUC-
TIONS WOULD HAVE HIM INFORM THE FRG THAT THE PROPOSAL
WAS NOT A GOOD ONE, BUT THAT THE FRG SHOULD BE LEFT TO
DO THE BEST IT CAN WITH IT. HE NOTED THAT THE
PROPOSED LUFTHANSA STOP AT TEGEL WOULD BE A TECHNICAL
STOP AND WOULD THUS BE OF A SYMBOLIC NATURE ONLY.
NEVERTHELESS, THE GERMANS ATTACH TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE
TO HAVING LUFTHANSA RETURN TO BERLIN EVEN IF THERE WAS
NO COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGE. (COMMENT: US CAA HAS QUERIED
JIRKA OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE ON THIS POINT. JIRKA'S
UNDERSTANDING IS THAT LUFTHANSA DOES INTEND TO PICK UP
PASSENGERS IN BERLIN FOR MOSCOW, BUT HE IS CHECKING
THE POINT. END COMMENT)
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PAGE 03 BONN 02824 01 OF 02 151627Z

4. BOISSIEU CONTINUED WITH A LIST OF OTHER POINTS TO
BE CONSIDERED:

-- WE MUST RECALL THAT IN 1974 THE RUSSIANS
WANTED TO DISCUSS THE WHOLE BERLIN CORRIDOR REGIME
IN CONNECTION WITH THE REQUEST FOR LUFTHANSA ENTRY
INTO THE BERLIN CONTROL ZONE.

-- SUCH SERVICE WOULD REPRESENT A NEW STEP IN
REVISION, IF NOT MODIFICATION, OF AIR ACCESS TO BERLIN.
IT IS DANGEROUS TO TAKE AD HOC DECISIONS. WE MUST
THINK ABOUT WHERE WE ARE GOING. IT OPENS NEW DOORS AND
WE SHOULD LOOK AHEAD TO SEE WHAT IS BEHIND THOSE DOORS.

-- THE FRG COUNTERPROPOSAL TO THE GDR REQUEST IS
NO "PACKAGE DEAL" AT ALL. THE GERMANS OBTAINED THE
RIGHT TO LAND AT TEGEL IN THEIR AIR AGREEMENT WITH THE
SOVIETS AND HAVE THUS ALREADY PAID THE EASTERN SIDE

FOR THAT RIGHT. THE NEW PROPOSAL MEANS THAT THEY ARE
PAYING TWICE, AND FOR SOMETHING THAT MEANS NOTHING

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PAGE 01 BONN 02824 02 OF 02 151631Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 02824

COMMERCIALLY.

-- FINALLY, IF THE FRG GRANTS OVERLIGHT RIGHTS
TO INTERFLUG, THUS ENHANCING THE ROLE OF SCHOENEFELD
AS AN AIR CENTER, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO
AIR FRANCE AND OTHER ALLIED CARRIERS WHY THEY SHOULD NOT
FLY INTO SCHOENEFELD.

5. US REP STATED THAT THE EMBASSY HAD NOT YET
REQUESTED INSTRUCTIONS, PENDING THIS INITIAL TRIPARTITE
DISCUSSION. STATING HIS VIEWS ONLY REPRESENTED
PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS AT THE EMBASSY WORKING LEVEL,
HE EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO
OBJECT TO THE FRG PROPOSAL. HE RECALLED THAT, IN
PRESENTING THE PROPOSAL, THE FRG REP HAD SAID THAT
ALLIED VIEWS HAD BEEN CAREFULLY CONSIDERED,
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PAGE 02 BONN 02824 02 OF 02 151631Z

PARTICULARLY THE INITIAL US VIEW THAT A LUFTHANSA STOP AT TEGEL WOULD NOT BE AN ADEQUATE QUID PRO QUO FOR THE GDR REQUEST. IT WAS APPARENT THAT THE FRG HAD DECIDED THAT TO TRY TO WORK IN LANDING RIGHTS FOR OTHER WESTERN AIRLINES WOULD OVERLOAD THE CIRCUIT. IT WAS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT THE FRG ATTACHED TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE TO OBTAINING THE LUFTHANSA STOP AT TEGEL IN ORDER TO HAVE A FOOT IN THE DOOR IN WEST BERLIN. US REP COMMENTED THAT THERE WAS PROBABLY SOME MERIT TO THE FRG VIEW THAT THEY COULD NOT EXPECT TO OBTAIN TOO MUCH IN RETURN FOR AUTHORIZATION FOR THE ZURICH ROUTE, AND THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN MORE IF INTERFLUG SOUGHT PERMISSION FOR ADDITIONAL ROUTES IN THE FUTURE.

6. IT WAS AGREED TO DEFER ANY FURTHER DISCUSSION IN THE BONN GROUP UNTIL ALL THREE ALLIED REPS HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS. ALLIED REPS DID NOT ATTEMPT TO FORMULATE AGREED RECOMMENDATIONS, AS BRITISH AND FRENCH REPS HAD ALREADY REQUESTED INSTRUCTIONS.

7. COMMENT: FOR REASONS NOTED ABOVE, WE DOUBT THAT THE FRG CAN BE PERSUADED TO TRY FOR A GREATER QUID PRO QUO FROM THE GDR THAN THAT EXPRESSED IN THE DRAFT REPLY -- I.E., LANDING RIGHTS FOR LUFTHANSA AT TEGEL ON THE FRANKFURT-MOSCOW-TOKYO RUN, PLUS APPROVAL FOR RESCUE FLIGHTS INTO TEGEL. BOTH THE FRG AND THE SENAT OBVIOUSLY ATTACH CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THIS INITIAL ENTRY OF LUFTHANSA ON THE BERLIN AVIATION SCENE AND HOPE THAT IT WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD TO AN EXPANDED LUFTHANSA PRESENCE THERE.

8. OUR GUESS IS THAT WE CANNOT COUNT UPON THE GDR TO TURN DOWN THE FRG COUNTER OFFER. THE GDR CANNOT HAVE EXPECTED TO RECEIVE FRG OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS OUT OF THE KINDNESS OF THE FRG'S HEART AND PROBABLY EXPECTED,
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PAGE 03 BONN 02824 02 OF 02 151631Z

GIVEN HISTORICAL FRG INTERESTS, THAT THE REQUEST FOR LANDING RIGHTS AT TEGEL WOULD BE THE MOST LIKELY FRG DEMAND FOR A QUID PRO QUO. IF SO, AND IF THE GDR IS SERIOUS ABOUT INSTITUTING ZURICH SERVICE, THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE THAT IT HAS DECIDED, WITH SOVIET PERMISSION, TO GRANT OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS FOR LUFTHANSA TO STOP AT TEGEL.

9. IF THIS SPECULATION IS CORRECT, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WE WILL NOT BE FACED WITH THE EARLIER SOVIET DEMAND FOR DISCUSSIONS OF THE ENTIRE AIR REGIME BEFORE LUFTHANSA LANDINGS AT TEGEL CAN BE CONSIDERED. THE FRG COUNTERPROPOSAL IS IN ANY CASE PREDICATED UPON AGREEMENT FROM THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES ON ENTRY INTO THE BCZ.

10. AT THE SAME TIME, WE FIND BOISSIEU'S CONCERNS ABOUT WHAT LIES DOWN THE ROAD TO BE WELL FOUNDED. AS HITCH NOTED IN THE DISCUSSION, THE GDR PROBABLY HAS TWO GOALS IN MIND -- NOT JUST TO BUILD UP SCHOENEFELD, BUT ALSO TO WORK TOWARDS EVENTUAL CHANGES IN THE AIR CORRIDOR REGIME. INSTITUTION OF LUFTHANSA SERVICE COULD BE A FIRST STEP TOWARD SHOWING THAT THE CORRIDOR REGIME WAS NO LONGER NECESSARY. BOISSIEU COULD ALSO BE CORRECT IN NOTING THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT COULD INCREASE THE INTEREST OF ALLIED CARRIERS IN STOPPING AT SCHOENEFELD.

11. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE FOR RESPONDING TO THE FRG PROPOSAL.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FLIGHT CLEARANCES, AIRCRAFT OVERFLIGHTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN02824
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770053-0999
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770242/aaaabkye.tel
Line Count: 248
Litigation Code IDs:
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Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 6a4acec6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BONN 2111, 77 BONN 2068, 76 BONN 21158, 76 STATE 300144, 76 STATE 299836, 76 BONN 20677
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3323828
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INTERFLUG OVERFLIGHTS OF THE FRG
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, EAIR, SZ, GC, GE, UK, US, WB, UR, FR, INTERFLUG
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/6a4acec6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009